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A C C O U N T

OF THE

B O D Y

OF

King EDWARD the FIRST,

As it appeared

On OPENING HIS TOMB in the YEAR 1774.

BY

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King EDWARD the FIRST

As it appeared

ON OPENING HIS COIN IN THE YEAR 1774.



BY

JOHN WYLLIE, ESQ. M.P.

Printed by J. WYLLIE, at the Press of the Society of the Friends of the Poor, in the Strand.

And in the Strand, at the Press of the Society of the Friends of the Poor.

An ACCOUNT, &c.

THE royal warrants repeatedly issued by King Edward the Third, and his two immediate successors, directed to the treasurer and chamberlains of their exchequer, *De cera renovanda circa corpus regis Edwardi primi*; and the total silence of all our historians, and public records, as to a similar attention having been paid to the corpse of any other of our deceased monarchs; are circumstances, that not only indicate the high veneration in which King Edward the First was held during a long series of years after his decease; but when considered, together with the strong injunctions under which, it is said, that king in his last moments laid his son, to send his heart to the Holy Land, attended by 140 knights, and to carry his remains along with the army until Scotland was reduced to obedience, gave rise to an opinion, that upon his decease a more than ordinary care was taken to preserve his body from putrefaction; and that, in subsequent times, the utmost endeavours were used for preventing its decay.

At this distant period, it became difficult to ascertain how far such an opinion may be founded on truth; more especially, as the historians, who flourished in the reigns of his son and grandson, Edward the Second and Edward the Third, afford very little

information on the subject; and as there are not now remaining, either in official books, or elsewhere, any *memoranda* of the particular manner in which the corpse of King Edward the First was treated previous to its being laid in the sepulchre.

WEEVER, who is the earliest of our English writers that take notice of the before-mentioned instruments, *De cera renovanda*, appears to have made some enquiry into the purpose for which they were issued. That author, speaking of the death of King Edward the First, says — “Such was the care of his successors
“to keep his corpse from corruption, that the searecloth, wherein
“his embalmed body was enwrapt, was often renewed, as doth
“appear upon record^a.” Monf. Rapin, relying on the same authority with Weever, asserts, that the body of King Edward the First was done over with wax^b. And Mr. Dart speaks of it nearly in the words of Weever, whose book he refers to^c.

IN the year 1770, our worthy and truly respectable member the Honourable Daines Barrington, whose incessant literary pursuits are confessedly employed for the emolument as well as the edification of the publick, stated to the Society the above circumstances, together with his sentiments thereon. At the same time, he expressed his ardent wishes, that the corpse of Edward the First, as entombed in the collegiate church of St. Peter at Westminster, might be inspected, in order to examine the state of preservation in which it then was; and whether any remains of the composition, supposed to have been used to prevent its decay, were discoverable^d. His zeal for obtaining such inspec-

^a Funeral Monuments, p. 462.

^b Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 385.

^c Hist. and Antiq. of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, Vol. II. p. 31.

^d In three letters read at the Society of Antiquaries on the 25th of January, and 1st of February, 1770.

ion did not however rest satisfied with having barely propounded his wishes to the Society. He frequently applied to the Reverend Dr. John Thomas, the dean of Westminster^e, by means of his learned friend Dr. Blair, one of the prebendaries of that church, for leave to open the royal tomb.

THE application, extremely delicate in itself, was received by the dean with that becoming and natural politeness which renders him peculiarly amiable to all his acquaintance, and attended to by him in a manner which evinced his desire to oblige, so far as might be consistent with the importance of the favour asked, and a strict observance of the duty of his immediate station. After having maturely considered the request, and taken every imaginable precaution for preventing any injury being done, either to the sarcophagus, or its royal contents, the dean fixed the second day of this month for its being opened; which was accordingly done, in the presence of himself and two of the prebendaries.

THE tomb of King Edward the First, built in the form of an altar-table, stands at the West end of the North side of the Confessor's chapel, and at the head of his father King Henry the Third's monument, from which it is separated by the stair-case and entrance, leading from the ambulatory into the chapel. It is in length, from out to out, nine feet seven inches; in height, from the floor of the chapel to the upper edge of the cover-stone, three feet seven inches; and is composed of only five slabs of Purbeck marble, each of them three inches in thickness. Two of these slabs form the sides, two the ends, and one the cover.

This tomb, which is quite plain, except that the under edge of the cover-stone is chamfered, or sloped off diagonally towards its upper edge, is raised upon a basement of free-stone, which, ex-

Now bishop of Rochester.

tending

tending every way near two feet beyond the tomb itself, forms an ascent to it of two steps above the pavement of the chapel. Each of these steps is six inches in height. On the South side, and at each end, it stands open to the chapel: but on the North side it is defended from the ambulatory by a grating of strong iron-work. The smaller upright bars of this grating terminate at the height of five feet, in a fleur de lis; and the two standards, or end bars, finish in a small busto of an elderly man with a long visage. A like busto is also placed in the front part of the frame of the baldoquin, or canopy, built over the tomb. The workmanship of each of these busto's is very rude. And yet they have so much resemblance of the face of King Edward the First, as exhibited on his coins, broad seal, and statue at Caernarvon castle, that there is not much room to doubt of their having originally been intended to represent that monarch.

THE inscription, EDWARDVS PRIMVS SCOTORVM MALLEVS HIC EST. PACTVM SERVA. 1308. mentioned by several historians, as being placed on the North side of the tomb, is now greatly defaced, but not so much as to render it altogether illegible.

THE form of the letters in this inscription, and the date 1308, put, as is supposed, by mistake, instead of 1307, the year in which the king died, are urged as reasons for imagining that the inscription was not placed on the tomb until many years after the king's decease.

BUT, on the other hand, it is to be observed, that the letters of the inscription placed round the monument of King Edward the Confessor, which was erected in the reign of King Henry the Third, are exactly similar to those of the inscription here spoken of; those of both inscriptions being manifestly Roman capitals.

ON opening the tomb, the cover-stone was found to be uncemented to the end and side slabs; and towards the upper edge of the latter were observed some small chasms, or holes, which seemed to have been made by the insertion of an iron crow, or some such instrument, and to have been afterwards filled up with fine plaister. The joint between the top and sides, although made extremely close, was also drawn with the same material. As soon as the two ends of the cover-stone were raised upon three courses of blockings prepared for that purpose, there appeared within the tomb a plain coffin of Purbeck marble, laid on a bed of rubble stone, which had been built up to such a height from the floor, as was necessary for bringing the upper side of the coffin-lid into contact with the under side of the covering stone of the tomb. This coffin, from out to out, is in length six feet seven inches, and in depth one foot and four inches. The breadth, at the shoulders, is two feet seven inches; in the middle, two feet three inches; and at the feet, one foot and ten inches. The thickness of each side of this coffin, as also that of its lid, which is cut out of a block of Purbeck marble, is three inches. The lid hath not ever been cemented to the sides of the coffin, but appeared to be so closely and neatly fitted to them, that scarce any dust could penetrate through the crevice. The outside of this coffin is stained with a yellowish paint, or varnish, and is much smoother than the outside of the tomb, partly owing to its having been less exposed to the air, and partly owing to the imposition of the varnish. On lifting up the lid, the royal corpse was found wrapped up within a large square mantle, of strong, coarse, and thick linen cloth, diaper'd, of a dull, pale, yellowish brown colour, and waxed on its under side.

THE head and face were entirely covered with a *sudarium*, or face-cloth, of crimson scarlet, the substance whereof was so much

much perished, as to have a cobweb-like feel, and the appearance of fine lint. This *sudarium* was formed into three folds, probably in imitation of the napkin wherewith our Saviour is said to have wiped his face when led to his crucifixion, and which, the Romish church positively assures us, consisted of the like number of folds, on each of which the resemblance of his countenance was then instantly impressed.

WHEN the folds of the external wrapper were thrown back, and the *sudarium* removed, the corpse was discovered richly habited, adorned with ensigns of royalty, and almost intire, notwithstanding the length of time that it had been entombed.

Its innermost covering seemed to have been a very fine linen cerecloth, dressed close to every part of the body, and superinduced with such accuracy and exactness, that the fingers and thumbs of both the hands had each of them a separate and distinct envelope of that material. The face, which had a similar covering closely fitted thereto, retained its exact form, although part of the flesh appeared to be somewhat wasted.

It was of a dark-brown, or chocolate colour, approaching to black; and so were the hands and fingers. The chin and lips were intire, but without any beard; and a sinking or dip, between the chin and under lip, was very conspicuous. Both the lips were prominent; the nose short, as if shrunk; but the apertures of the nostrils were visible. There was an unusual fall, or cavity, on that part of the bridge of the nose which separates the orbits of the eyes; and some globular substance, possibly the fleshy part of the eye-balls, was moveable in their sockets under the envelope. Below the chin and under jaw was lodged a quantity of black dust, which had neither smell nor coherence; but whether the same had been flesh, or spices, could not be ascertained.

ONE of the joints of the middle finger of the right hand was loose; but those of the left hand were quite perfect.

NEXT above the before-mentioned cerecloth was a dalmatic, or tunic, of red silk damask; upon which lay a stole of thick white tissue, about three inches in breadth, crossed over the breast, and extending on each side downwards, nearly as low as the wrist, where both ends were brought to cross each other^f. On this stole were placed, at about the distance of six inches from each other, quatrefoils, of philligree-work, in metal gilt with gold, elegantly chased in figure, and ornamented with five pieces of beautiful transparent glass, or paste, some cut, and others rough, set in raised sockets. The largest of these pieces is in the centre of the quatrefoil; and each of the other four is fixed near to the angle: so that all of them together form the figure of a quincunx. These false stones differ in colour. Some are ruby; others a deep amethyst: some again are sapphire; others white; and some a sky-blue.

THE intervals between the quatrefoils on the stole are powdered with an immense quantity of very small white beads, resembling

^f Walsingham, in his account of the coronation of Richard II, mentions, that the king was invested with a stole;—*primo tunica Sti Edwardi, et post, ejusdem Dalmaticâ, projecta circa collum ejus stola.*

In the coronation ceremonies of Henry VII, and VIII, the armylls are described to be made in the form of a stole wodyn with gold, set with precious stones.

Henry VI. is said to have been arrayed, at the time of his coronation, as a bishop that should sing Mass, with a dalmatic like a tunic, and a stole about his neck. Ms. W. Y. in the College of Arms.

The investing with a white stole, *in modum crucis in pectore*, is particularly mentioned in several foreign ceremonials. Goldastus in the *Constitutiones Imperiales*, vol. I. p. 95. speaking of Maximilian king of the Romans, says, *induebatur cum sandaliis, et stola alba in modum crucis in pectore*; and other ceremonials, printed in Martene, have the same words.

pearls*, drilled, and tacked down very near each other, so as to compose an embroidery of most elegant form, and not much unlike that which is commonly called, The True-lover's Knot. THESE beads, or pearls, are all of the same size, and equal to that of the largest pin's head. They are of a shining, silver-white hue; but not so pellucid as necklace-beads and mock-pearls usually are.

OVER these habits is the royal mantle, or pall, of rich crimson sattin, fastened on the left shoulder with a magnificent *fibula* of metal gilt with gold, and composed of two joints pinned together by a moveable *acus*, and resembling a cross garnet hinge. This *fibula* is four inches in length, richly chased, and ornamented with four pieces of red, and four of blue transparent paste, similar to those on the quatrefoils, and twenty-two beads or mock-pearls. Each of these pastes and mock-pearls is set in a raised and chased socket. The head of the *acus* is formed by a long piece of uncut transparent blue paste, shaped like an acorn, and fixed in a chased socket.

THE lower joint of this *fibula* appears to be connected with the stole, as well as with the chlamys; so that the upper part of each of the lappets or straps of the stole, being thereby brought nearly into contact with the edge of the royal mantle, those straps form, in appearance, a guard or border thereto.

THE corpse, from the waist downward, is covered with a large piece of rich figured cloth of gold, which lies loose over the lower part of the tunic, thighs, legs, and feet, and is tucked down behind the soles of the latter. There did not remain any appearance of gloves: but on the back of each hand, and just below the knuckle of the middle finger, lies a quatrefoil, of the

* Several of the gentlemen present at opening the coffin thought them to be real seed pearls; but all of them, being exactly of the same size, hue, and shape, militate against that opinion.

same metal as those on the stole, and like them ornamented with five pieces of transparent paste; with this difference, however, that the centre-piece in each quatrefoil is larger, and seemingly of a more beautiful blue, than those on any of the quatrefoils on the stole.

BETWEEN the two fore-fingers and the thumb of the right hand, the king holds a scepter with the cross made of copper gilt. This scepter is two feet six inches in length, and of most elegant workmanship. Its upper part extends unto, and rests on, the king's right shoulder.

BETWEEN the two fore-fingers and the thumb of his left-hand, he holds the rod or scepter with the dove, which, passing over his left shoulder, reaches up as high as his ear. This rod is five feet and half an inch in length. The stalk is divided into two equal parts, by a knob or fillet, and at its bottom is a flat ferule.

THE top of the stalk terminates in three bouquets, or tiers of oak-leaves, of green enamel, in *alto relievo*, each bouquet diminishing in breadth as they approach towards the summit of the scepter, whereon stands a ball, or mound, surmounted by the figure of a dove, with its wings closed, and made of white enamel.

ON the head of the corpse, which lies within a recess hollowed out of the stone-coffin, and properly shaped for its reception, is an open crown or fillet of tin, or latton, charged on its upper edge with trefoils, and gilt with gold; but evidently of inferior workmanship, in all respects, to that of the scepters and quatrefoils.

THE shape and form of the crown, scepters, and fibula, and the manner in which the latter is fixed to the mantle, or chlamys, exactly correspond with the representation of those on the broad-

seal of this king, as exhibited by Sandford in his *Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens in England*^a.

ON a careful inspection of the fingers of both hands, no ring could be discovered. However, as it cannot be supposed that the corpse was deposited without that usual attendant ensign of royalty, we may with great probability conjecture, that, on the shrinking of the fingers, which must have been the consequence of length of time, and the operation of the anti-septics applied to them; the royal ring had slipped off from the finger, and buried itself in some part of the robes, none of which were disturbed in order to search for it.

THE feet, with their toes, soles, and heels, seemed to be perfectly entire; but whether they have sandals on them or not is uncertain, as the cloth tucked over them was not removed.

ON measuring the body by a rod, graduated into inches divided into quarters, it appeared to be exactly six feet and two inches in length. So that, although we may with some degree of propriety adopt the idea of those Historians, who tell us, that the king was taller than the generality of men; yet we can no longer credit those, who assert, that he was taller by the head than any other man of his time. How far the appellation of *Long Shanks*, usually given to him, was properly applicable, cannot be ascertained, since the length of the *tibiæ* could not be truly measured, and compared with that of the *femora*, without removing the vestments, and thereby incurring a risque of doing injury to the corpse.

ONE of our Historians, Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* p. 43 and 44, thus describes him. — “Elegantis erat formæ, staturæ procerae, qua humero et supra communi populo præeminebat. Caesaries in adolescentia a colore pene argenteo vergens in flavum: in juventute vero a flavo declinans in nigritu-

^a P. 120.

“dinem:

“ dinem: senectutem in cygneam versa canitiem venustabat. Frons
 “ lata, caeteraque facies pariliter disposita, eo excepto quod sinistri
 “ oculi palpebra demissior paterni aspectus similitudinem exprime-
 “ bat. Lingua blaesca, cui tamen efficax facundia ad persuaden-
 “ dum in rebus non defuit perorandis. Brachiorum ad propor-
 “ tionem corporis flexibilis productio, quibus vivacitate nervica
 “ nulla cujusque erant ad usum gladii aptiora. Pectus ventri
 “ prae-eminebat. Tibiarumque longa divisio equorum nobilium
 “ cursu et saltu sefforis firmitatem prohibuit infirmari.”

IT hath been conjectured, that he obtained the nick-name of *Long-shanks* from a manifest disproportion in the length of his thighs and legs to that of his body. But on inspection of the corpse, so far as could be done without removing the robes, no such disproportion was observable. Perhaps, therefore, we may not deviate from truth, should we suppose, with Mr. Sandfordⁱ, that such appellation was given to him on account of the height of his stature, and not from any extravagant length either of his thighs or legs.

THERE is still preserved in Westminster-abbey, among the figures that compose what is there called *The Ragged Regiment*, the effigy, which, according to the custom of ancient times, lay upon Edward the First's coffin during the funeral procession and exequies; and which figure in all likelihood was afterwards placed on his tomb, and there continued a considerable time: for Peter Langtoft, who did not survive that monarch above six years, speaking of his death and burial, says:

From Waltham before-said to Westmyster thei him brought.

Besides his fadre he is laid in a tomb well wrought,

Of marble is the stone and *portraid* there he lies^k.

THE length of the legs in this figure, measuring from the sole of the foot to the cap of his knee, is twenty-one inches and an

ⁱ Genealog. Hist. p. 127.

^k Langtoft's Chron. v. II. p. 341.

half; and the height of the whole figure, six feet five inches and an half. No positive conclusion, however, can be fairly drawn from thence, as to what was the exact stature of king Edward the First, or as to the proportion which the length of his legs bore to that of the whole, or any particular part of his body; because this figure was certainly made taller than the real stature of the king, as is evident, not only from the before-mentioned measure taken of the royal corpse, but from the cavity of the stone-coffin, which is not capable of receiving a body six feet five inches in length. Probably, the figure-maker, according to the practice of those times, applying his attention principally to the making a perfect resemblance of the features and visage of the defunct, neglected to model and form the figure to the exact and real height of Edward's stature.

THE apparelling the corpse of this monarch in his royal vestments, accompanied with the ensigns of regality as before described, is not, on any account, to be considered as a peculiar mark of respect paid to him in contradistinction to preceding kings, but as being done merely in conformity to usual and ancient custom.

HE was, on this occasion, habited *more regio*, i. e. in the same manner that the corpses of all other kings, his predecessors, had been dressed, in order to their sepulture: and similar, except in some few particulars only, to a mode or regulation established by authority, *De exequiis regalibus*. A copy of this regulation is entered in the *Liber Regalis*, immediately after the formulary for the coronation of our English monarchs.

It runs thus:

“ DE EXEQUIIS REGALIBUS CUM IPSOS EX HOC SEculo MIGRARE CONTIGERIT.

“ CUM rex inunctus migraverit ex hoc seculo, primo a suis cubiculariis, corpus ejusdem aqua calida five tepida lavari debet; deinde
 “ balsamo,

“balsamo, et aromatibus unguetur per totum. Et postea in panno
 “lineo cerato involvitur; ita tamen quod facies et barba illius tan-
 “tum pateant. Et circa manus et digitos ipsius, dictus pannus ce-
 “ratus ita erit dispositus, ut quilibet digitus, cum pollice utriusque
 “manus, singillatim insuatur per se; ac si manus ejus cirothecis li-
 “neis essent coopertæ. De cerebro tamen et visceribus caveant
 “cubicularii prædicti. Deinde corpus induetur tunica usque ad
 “talos longâ; et desuper pallio regali adornabitur. Barba vero
 “ipsius decenter componitur super pectus illius. Et postmodum,
 “caput cum facie ipsius sudario serico cooperietur. Ac deinde co-
 “rona regia aut dyadema capite ejusdem apponetur. Postea indu-
 “entur manus ejus cirothecis cum aurifragiis ornatis; et in medio
 “digito dextræ manus imponetur annulus aureus aut deauratus.
 “Et in dextra manu sua ponetur pila rotunda deaurata, in qua
 “virga deaurata erit fixa, a manu ipsius usque ad pectus protensa,
 “in cujus virgæ summitate erit signum dominicæ crucis, quod su-
 “per pectus ejusdem principis honeste debet collocari. In sinistra
 “vero manu sceptrum deauratum habebit usque ad aurem sinistram
 “decenter protensum. Ac postremo tibiæ et pedes ipsius caligis
 “sericis et sandaliis induentur.

“TALI vero modo dictus princeps adornatus, cum regni sui
 “pontificibus et magnatibus, ad locum quem pro sua sepultura
 “eligerit, cum omni reverentia deferetur, et cum exequiis regalibus
 “honestissimæ tradatur sepulturae.”

THE reasons for assigning splendid attire to imperial and royal
 corpses, arose from the constant prevailing custom of exposing
 them to open and public view, either within the royal palace, or
 in some church, cathedral, or monastery, until such time as they
 were deposited in their tombs. On this occasion, a veneration for
 the memory of the defunct suggested, that he should appear as
 honourably vested when dead, as upon the greatest solemnities he
 did

did whilst living. A similar practice of arraying the dead in those habits of splendor, dignity, and ceremony, to which they were intitled in their life-time, antiently extended itself to those of inferior degree, as well clergy as laity; most of whom were usually buried in the dress properly belonging to their respective qualities. Thus emperors were entombed in their imperial, and kings in their regal robes; knights were interred in their military garments; bishops were laid in the grave in their pontifical habits; priests in their sacerdotal vestments; and monks in the dress of the particular order to which they belonged.

CONSTANTINE the Great, as Eusebius acquaints us in his life¹, was put into a chest of gold, being first cloathed in the imperial purple, a diadem on his head, and decorated with ensigns of royalty; and in that manner laid in the grave. On the Normans demolishing the tomb of king Clovis in the church of St. Genevieve, parts of his royal robes, and several jewels and other treasure, were found therein^m. The remains found in the tomb of Childeric, first king of the Franks, on their being discovered at Tours, shewed that he had been buried in his royal robes, and with his regalia and coronation-ringⁿ. The corpse of the emperor Charlemagne, being first embalmed and dressed in imperial robes, was placed as sitting upright in a chair within his sepulture; having a sword girt on his side, an evangelisterium in his hands, and on his head a diadem, or circlet of gold, on which was the figure of the cross. From the under side of the diadem hung down a *sudarium*, that covered his face. On the wall, opposite to him, were suspended his scepter of gold, and his shield of the same metal, which had been consecrated by pope Leo the

¹ Lib. iv. 66. ^m Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 53.

ⁿ Chiffletii Anastasis Childerici regis.

Third°. In this position he was found on opening the tomb, in the reign of Otto the Third^p; at which time his body was so entire, that even the nails remained as growing on the fingers and toes.

OTHER examples of the continuance of this custom might be added; but on the present occasion, it will be sufficient to consider such instances only as relate to the corpses of those kings who have swayed the scepter of this kingdom.

UPON rebuilding the abbey-church of St. Peter, Westminster, by king Henry III, the sepulchre of Sebert, king of the East-Angles, was opened; and therein was found part of his royal robes, and his thumb-ring, in which was set a ruby of great value.

IN June 1766, some workmen, who were repairing Winchester cathedral, discovered a monument, wherein was contained the body of king Canute. It was remarkably fresh, had a wreath round the head, and several other ornaments of gold and silver bands. On his finger was a ring, in which was set a large and remarkable fine stone; and in one of his hands was a silver penny^q.

IN the reign of king James the Second, upon searching the chest which contains the body of king Edward the Confessor, there was found, under one of the shoulder-bones of the royal corpse, a crucifix of pure gold, richly enamelled, and suspended to a golden chain, twenty-four inches in length, which, passing round the neck, was fastened by a locket of massy gold, adorned with four large red stones. The skull, which was entire, had on it a list of gold, or diadem, one inch in breadth, surrounding the

^o Monach. de Engolesm. in vitâ c. 24.

^p Chron. Novaliciense, N° 32.

^q From the information of Edward King, esq;

temples; and in the chest lay several pieces of gold-coloured filk, and linen^r.

IN the year 1522, the tomb of William the Conqueror, in the abbey-church of St. Stephen at Caen, was opened, and the body appeared as entire as when it was first buried, and royally cloathed; but we are not informed what the particular vestments were^s.

IN 1562, the Calvinists broke open the tomb of Matilda, wife to William the Conqueror, in the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Caen^t, and discovered her body apparelled in robes of state, and having a gold ring set with a fine sapphire on one of her fingers^u.

IN the reign of king Charles the First, the monument of William Rufus, in Winchester cathedral, was opened, and therein were found the dust of that king, some reliques of cloth of gold (undoubtedly parts of the royal vestments), and a large gold ring^w.

^r Keepe's Antiquities of Westminster-abbey, vol. II. Appendix.

^s Antiquites de Normandie.—At the same time, a picture of the royal remains, in the condition they then appeared, was painted on board by an eminent painter of the place, and hung on the wall of that abbey-church, opposite to William's monument, where it remained until the rioters, under the admiral Chastillion, plundered the abbey; at which time the picture fell into the hands of Peter Hode, gaoler of Caen, and one of the rioters, who converted one part thereof into a table, and used the other as a cupboard-door. These being discovered four years after, and reclaimed by Monsi. de Bras, an officer of the town, remained in his possession till his death; since which event it is unknown what is become of them^{*}.

^t It is called L'Abbaye aux Dames, and was founded by the dutchess Matilda about the same time that the duke began to erect that of St. Stephen in the same city^{*}.

^u On the ring's being taken off from her finger, it was given to the then lady abbess madam Anna a Montmorency, by whom it was presented to her father the Baron de Conti, constable of France, when he attended Charles the IXth to Caen in the year 1563^{*}.

^w Rapin.

^{*} Les Recherches et Antiquites de la Province De Neustrie.

THE younger Henry, who died in the life-time of his father Henry II, anno 1183, was buried in the vestments that had been consecrated at his coronation. *Corpus in lineis vestibus quas habuit in consecratione, sacro chrismate delibutis, regaliter involutum* apud Rotomagum delatum est.*

KING Henry the Second, according to the same author, and other authorities, in 1188, when prepared for burial, was dressed in royal apparel. He had a crown of gold upon his head, gloves upon his hands, golden sandals upon his legs, spurs on his heels, a great ring upon his finger, the scepter in his hand; and was girt with a sword. *REGIO indutus apparatu, coronam in capite habens auream, et chirothecas in manibus, calceamenta auro texta in pedibus, et calcaria, annulum magnum in digito, et in manu sceptrum; accinctusque gladio, discooperto vultu jacebat†.*

IT must be acknowledged, that Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of the death and funeral of Henry the Second, expressly contradicts Matthew Paris; but he does it in words that fully prove the general prevalency of the practice here spoken of. *Qualiter annulo, sceptro, corona, cunctisque fere quae regias decebant exequias, in fine caruerit‡.*

IN reference to the above practice, king Richard II, by his last will, directed that his body should be apparelled either in velvet or white sattin, according to royal custom and interred, together with his crown and royal scepter, but without any precious stones on them: and that likewise, according to royal usage, a ring, with a precious stone in it, of the value of twenty marks, should be put on his finger.

* M. Paris, p. 141.

† Ib. p. 151.

‡ Wharton's Anglia Sacra. II. p. 382.

ITEM volumus & ordinamus quod corpus nostrum in velveto vel sathanae blanio, more regio, vestiatur, & etiam interretur, una cum corona & sceptro regis deauratis, absque tamen quibuscumque lapidibus; quodque super digitum nostrum more regio annulus cum lapide pretioso, pretii five valoris viginti marcarum monetae nostrae Angliae, ponatur^a.

SOME difference between the habits and regalia found with the body of king Edward the First, and those by the before-mentioned regulations *de exequiis regalibus*, directed to be used on those occasions, is observable. The most striking is that of the scepter with the cross being placed in king Edward the First's right hand, instead of an orb or mound, as mentioned in the regulations.

THAT the orb or mound, surmounted by the figure of a cross, was from antient times used by the Eastern and Western emperors as a symbol and ensign of empire and extensive dominion, will not be denied. That it was considered as such in this island must be equally certain, since all our monarchs, from Edward the Confessor inclusive, are represented on the obverse of their great seals, as royally habited, and holding in their left hand a ball surmounted by a cross.

IT is not, however, to be inferred from these circumstances, that the orb was in early times deemed to be a part of the regalia either of England, or other kingdoms, more especially as it is not enumerated as such in any of the antient rituals.

THE coronation ceremonial, used in England during the Saxon times, a copy whereof is published by Mr. Selden^b from an antient pontifical, mentions no other regalia than *the sword, the crown, and the scepter*. The *Ordo Romanus antiquus de divinis*

^a Rymer's Foed. Tom. VIII. p. 75.

^b Titles of Honor, Part I. Chron. viii. p. 151, &c.

catholicae ecclesiae officiis, which was compiled in the eighth century^c, speaks only of *the sword, the armills, the pall, the ring, the rod, the scepter, and the crown.*

THE ceremonial for the coronation of king Edward the First^d, the coronation-roll of king Edward the Second^e, and the *liber regalis*^f, as also the pontifical which was drawn up by command of Charles the Fifth of France, and used at his coronation anno 1363^g, are all equally silent as to the orb or mound; and so is the Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII, Pont. Max.^h Thomas Walsingham is the earliest of our historians who mention the orb as making part of the regalia; and yet he speaks in such terms, as seem to indicate that the scepter with the cross, and the orb or mound, were originally one and the same ensign of royalty; for, in his account of the coronation of king Richard the Second, after telling us, that when the archbishop had placed the scepter of royal power in the king's right hand, he gave the rod with the dove into his left: he adds—*nam sceptrum quod susceperat, consurrexit de rotundo globo aureo quem tenebat in manu chirothecata, et habebat in summitate signum crucis*ⁱ.

SUPPOSING then that the scepter of royal power, or, as it is usually called, the scepter with the cross; and the orb or mound surmounted by the figure of a cross, were originally one and the same ensign or scepter, and did not become different and distinct parts of the regalia till a long time after the death of king Edward the First (a matter which will be fully considered in a dis-

^c Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom. VIII. p. 467, 468.

^d Registrum de Evesham in Bib. Harleiana.

^e Amongst the records in the Tower of London.

^f In the archives of Westminster-abbey.

^g Laurentii Bochelli Decretorium ecclesiae Gallicanae.

^h Antwerpiae, 1627.

ⁱ Walsingham's Hist. Ang. p. 196.

sertation on the regalia, which I propose hereafter to lay before the Society), the seeming difference between the regalia found with the corpse of Edward the First, and those mentioned in the regulations *de exequiis regalibus*, becomes reconciled.

THE hands and fingers of the respective figures of king Henry the Third, and king Edward the Third, now remaining on their tombs, in great measure strengthen this supposition, they being represented exactly in the same position wherein those of king Edward the First now appear to be placed, viz. as holding with ease and dignity a scepter in each hand. Those figures have indeed long since been dispossessed of those ensigns of royalty, but evident marks of their having been placed in the hands of the figure of king Henry III are visible; and the lower parts of the stalks of the scepters, which were formerly in the hands of the figure of king Edward the Third, still remain in them.

THE present non-appearance of gloves on king Edward's hands is far from being an admissible argument for his having been intombed without those parts of established sepulchral dress.

It hath been before observed, that our kings, when carried to their sepulchres, were habited nearly in the same manner, and adorned with the like regalia, as at the times of their coronations: and the antient coronation rituals and ceremonials direct, that on those solemnities gloves shall be placed on the king's hands; and that such gloves shall be made of fine linen.

If then, conformable to that practice, and the mode prescribed by the regulations *de exequiis regalibus*, gloves were placed in the hands of king Edward's corpse, and such gloves were made of so slight a material as fine linen, they could not long have resisted the injury of time, but necessarily must have long since perished and fallen into dust. That this was the fact in the present case is clearly

clearly evident from the quatrefoils of goldsmiths work, which, according to the regulations *de exequiis regalibus*, were to be fixed on the gloves put on the defunct, being still remaining on the backs of king Edward's hands.

KING Edward the First was seized with a dysentery during his march against the Scots, and died at Burgh on the sands, on Friday the 7th of July, 1307, the anniversary of the translation of St. Thomas Becket^k. Whilst he lay on his death-bed, he in-joined the earls of Pembroke, Northumberland, and Lincoln, the lord Clifford, and others his attendants, to acquaint his son, that it was his positive and dying commands, that his heart should be sent to the Holy Land, attended by one hundred and forty knights, who should have thirty-two thousand pounds of silver for their maintenance whilst thus employed; and that his corpse should remain unburied, and be carried in the van of the English army, until such time as Scotland was quite reduced to obedience. Little or no regard, however, was paid to these commands; for, in a council summoned on receiving the news of his death, it was ordered, that the bishop of Chester, who had been his treasurer, assisted by the officers of the late king's household, should conduct the royal corpse to Waltham-abbey, there to remain until such time as all matters necessary for carrying on the war in Scotland were settled, and the young king could find leisure to give proper orders for his father's interment.

THE corpse was accordingly removed from Burgh, with great funeral pomp; many of the principal nobility, Peter cardinal of Spain, and great numbers of the clergy, meeting it on the road, making processions, and assisting at the masses which were sung in all the churches where it rested. Whilst the body continued

^k Chronicon Thomae de la More, Thomas Wikes, M. Westm. W. Hemingford, Thomas Walsingham, &c.

at Waltham, which was seventeen weeks, fix religious, chosen weekly out of the neighbouring monasteries, watched it night and day, and none of them were permitted to depart without special licence obtained from those to whom the conduct of the funeral was intrusted¹.

At a parliament held at Northampton fifteen days after Michaelmas, pursuant to the writs of summons which bare teste the 26th day of August^m, the royal funeral was fixed for Friday the 27th day of October, and to be performed in Westminster-abbey, with all the honors becoming so great a monarchⁿ. Hereupon the royal corpse was removed to London, where, on the first night after its arrival, it rested in the church of the Holy Trinity; on the second day, it was carried into the church of St. Paul; and on the third, to that of the Friars-minors. From thence it was brought, in an open chariot, to the abbey-church of St. Peter at Westminster, in the presence of a great concourse of the nobility and others; and there on the next day, after mass had been said by five bishops and the cardinal of Spain, was with great solemnity intombed in the chapel of Edward, King and Confessor; Anthony Beck, patriarch of Jerusalem, and bishop of Durham, reading the last mass and the funeral service; the bishop of Winchester, the gospel; and the bishop of Lincoln, the epistle^o. On the 30th of October, the young king issued his writ to the archbishop of Canterbury, commanding masses, dirges, and prayers, for the soul of the late king, in all churches and religious houses throughout his province. And the like writs were sent to all bishops and abbots, the master of the order of Sempringham, the general of the order of Friars-minors, and

¹ Walsingham's Hist. Ang. p. 95. Hemingford, Wikes.

ⁿ Rot. Claus. 1 Edw. II. m. 19. dorso.

^o Continuatio Annalium Trivetii.

^o Walsingham *ibid.* Hemingford, Langtoft's Chronicle, vol. II. p. 342.

to the provincial prior of the Friars-preachers, in England^p. At the same time, the cardinal of Spain granted one year's indulgence, and the pope five, to all persons who should say a *pater noster* and an *ave* for the soul of the departed king^q.

WHAT further marks of respect were paid to the memory of our English Justinian, whose valour, piety, and unwearied application to the welfare and prosperity of his subjects, had justly acquired him the appellation of "*The good King Edward*;" whether any, or what, particular methods were subsequently made use of for preserving his body from decay; or whether any peculiar acts of devotion were in after-times performed at his tomb; cannot now be ascertained, unless the several before-mentioned warrants, *De cera renovanda circa corpus regis Edwardi*, should lead to the discovery. These warrants occur on the liberate, close, and patent rolls of Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV^r; and have a more than ordinary claim to our consideration, since no warrants of a similar kind appear to have been issued in favour of the corpses of any other of our kings. The earliest of these warrants hitherto found, is entered on the liberate roll of the 13th year of king Edward III. m. 5, and runs thus:

REX thesaurario et camerariis suis salutem. Mandamus vobis quod ceram circa corpus celebris memorie domini Edwardi regis Anglie avi nostri in monasterio Westmonasterii humatum existentem, de denariis de thesauro nostro, renovari faciatis, prout hactenus fieri consuevit. Teste custode predicto apud Berkhamsted sexto die Julii. Per ipsum custodem et concilium.

^p Rot. Claus. 1 Edw. II. m. 17. dorso.

^q Walsingham, Hemingford, Langtoft.

^r See Rymer's *Foedera* under those reigns.

THE like warrants, *mutatis mutandis*, are repeated on the rolls of his 14th^a, 16th^a, 17th^a, 18th^a, 20th^a, 21st^a, 24th^a, 25th^a, 26th^a, 28th^a, and 29th^a, years: on those of the 1st^e, 2nd^e, 6th^e, 8th^e, and 9th^e, years, and twice in the 11th^e year, of king Richard the Second: as also on the rolls of the third of king Henry IVth. After that time, no such warrants are to be met with on record.

THAT warrants of the same import, regarding king Edward the First's corpse, had been issued previous to that of the 13th year of king Edward the Third, is rendered highly probable by the words *ceram renovari faciatis, sicut hactenus consuevit*; which words of reference to former practice occur in that, as likewise in all the subsequent warrants issued for the same service.

HAD the first warrant, that was issued been preserved to us, it undoubtedly would have better explained what was the honor thereby intended to be paid to the deceased king, and the reasons for it. Weever, as hath already been observed, is the first of our writers who mention any of these warrants; one of which, to wit, that of the 1st of Richard II. m. 42. he recites *verbatim*^m. Rapin, who tells us that the corpse of king Edward the First was carried from Waltham to Westminster-abbey, where it was covered over with wax, and laid by Henry his father, plainly relies

^a Rot. Claus. p. 1. m. 6.

^b Rot. Claus. p. 1. m. 3.

^c Claus. p. 2. m. 26.

^d Claus. p. 1. m. 6.

^e Liberat. m. 5.

^f Liberat. m. 3.

^g Claus. m. 1.

^h Claus. m. 51.

ⁱ Claus. m. 46. Claus. m. 4.

^k Funeral Monuments, p. 463.

^l Liberat. m. 6.

^m Liberat. m. 5.

ⁿ Claus. p. 1. m. 5.

^o Liberat. m. 1.

^p Claus. m. 17.

^q Pat. p. 1. m. 31.

^r Claus. p. 1. m. 29.

^s Claus. m. 83.

^t Claus.

on the above authority in Weever; for although his editors quote *Acta Publica*, tom. II. p. 1089; *Mat. Westm.* and *Thomas Walsingham*; neither of those books mention a single word of the king's body being *waxed*. King Edward the First's manner of declaring on his death-bed, his great solicitude for carrying on the wars against Scotland and in the Holy Land naturally suggested to his executors a necessity for the embalment of his corpse; and this was enforced by the unsteadiness which appeared in the councils of his son Edward the Second as to the disposal of the old king's body, since it could not long be kept out of the grave without some extraordinary means being used for its preservation. It hath been thought, that a conformity to the usual practice of exposing royal corpses to open view at every place where they rested, and the length of way the body of Edward was carried before its arrival at the place of sepulture, might in his particular case make it necessary to renew the embalment; and farther, that the prevailing opinion, that it was expedient to keep the corpse in a condition to be carried from place to place, if required, occasioned a yearly renewal of the antiseptic medications, and of the cerecloth in which the body was wrapped. This mode of accounting for the annual issue of the warrants, *De cera renovanda circa corpus regis Edwardi*, is plausible; and the date of all of them being either in the month of June, or that of July, may be urged as a further argument, that the then extraordinary warm season of the year was considered as increasing the necessity of taking precautions for preventing putrefaction.

However, supposing the facts to have been as here stated, many gentlemen, of great erudition and historical abilities in the present age, although they adopt the sentiments of Weever and Rapin, yet doubt, whether the *cera*, directed by the warrants to be renewed, was the *cerecloth* immediately next to the royal body, or the outermost *waxed wrapper* in which it was found enclosed.

WAX was in very early times made use of for preserving bodies from putrefaction, as we are assured by Tully; who, in his Tusculan questions,^a says, *Condiunt Aegyptii mortuos, Persae etiam cera circumlitos condiunt*. In later times, and more especially since the establishment of Christianity, and the custom of burying in churches was introduced, wax hath occasionally, and indeed not unfrequently, been applied to the same purpose, but in a manner different from that antiently practised, being no longer used singly and by itself, as a plaister or unguent, wherewith to cover, anoint, daub over, or embalm, the dead, but as one of the principal of those ingredients which, being mixed and incorporated together, make that antiseptic compound, wherewith the cerecloths, used for wrapping up the corpses of kings and persons of high rank, are usually spread and impregnated.

THE corpse of Henry I, after it had been gashed, and well rubbed and saturated with salt, was inclosed in a bull's hide^b; and Henry V, being emboweled, was cloathed in lead^c; each of these corpses having, in all probability, been also wrapped up in an inward envelope of cerecloth. The princess Joane, mother of Edward the Black Prince, dying at Wallingford, 7 R. II, her body was wrapped in *cerecloth*; and, being put in lead, was kept till the king's return from Scotland, to be buried in the Grey Friars at Stamford^d. Elizabeth Tudor, second daughter to king Henry VII, was *cered by the wax-abandler*^e. The body of prince Arthur is said to have been well coiled and well *cered*, and conveniently dressed with spices^f. The officers of the chaundry, and the clerks of the spicery, came and *cered*

^a I. ad fin, Strab. xv.

^b Gervasius Cantuariensis, published in the Decem Scriptores, p. 1339. Brompton, p. 1023. Polychron, B. vii. p. 282.

^c Wallingham.

^d Dugdale's Baronage, tom. II. p. 7, 8. ex Wallingham Ypodig. Neust.

^e Dart's Westminster, vol. II. p. 28.

^f Miscellaneous pieces at the end of Leland's Collectanea, vol. V. p. 374.

the corpse of queen Mary, daughter to king Henry VIII, with linen-cloth, *wax*, and with a number of spices very costly^t. A fine double *cerecloth*, &c. for the embalming his late majesty's royal body, was provided by his apothecary^u. Archbishop Parker allowed George Derham twenty-three pounds for *cering* and dressing his body^w. In fact, instances of bodies, as well of nobles, abbots, and persons of still inferior degree, as well as those of kings and sovereign princes, occur so frequently, that it becomes needless to repeat them^x.

It was this known practice of *waxing* or enveloping royal corpses in *cered* or *waxed* cloths, that induced Weever, Rapin, and others, to determine that the *cera*, by the herein before-cited warrant commanded to be renewed, was the *cerecloth* inclosing the corpse of king Edward the First; an interpretation which they considered as fully justified and confirmed by the context: the words *ceram existentem circa corpus*, taken all together, being, in their opinion, more applicable to a *cerecloth*, or antiseptic preparation, than to any thing else, first, because the Latin word *cera*, although in its primary sense it signifies *wax*, yet, as several classical authorities evince,

^t Ceremonial of the funeral of Mary queen of England, MS. in the library of the College of Arms.

^u In the account of the treasurer of the chambers, from 10 Oct. 1759, to 25 Oct. 1760, are the following articles:

John Ranby, esq; one of his majesty's principal and serjeant surgeons, as a reward for opening and embalming his late majesty's body, 112*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

Cæsar Hawkins, esq; for the like, 112*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

John Andrews, surgeon of his majesty's household, for assisting his majesty's serjeant-surgeons in opening and embalming his late majesty's body, 55*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*

Thomas Graham, apothecary to his majesty, for a fine double *cerecloth*, with a large quantity of very rich perfumed aromatic powders, &c. for embalming his late majesty's royal body, 152*l.*

^w Appendix to the Supplement to Somner's Canterbury, p. 39.

^x See Weever's Funeral Monuments; and Casimir, *De incoruptis cadaveribus humatis*, printed in *Historia et Commentationes academice electoralis scientiarum et elegantiarum literarum Theodoro-Palatinae*, Vol. II. p. 309, &c.—Greenhill's Art of Embalming, &c.

is by metonymy also used for a waxen image^y, a book, a tablet^a, a testament^a, and other things made of wax; and consequently may, with equal propriety, be used as a proper term whereby to express a *cerecloth*; 2dly, that those words, *ceram existentem circa corpus*, emphatically describe such antiseptic preparation as adhering to the body, and not as denoting any thing placed at a distance from it, more especially on the outside of the tomb, in which last case the expression must have been *circa tum-bam*, and not *circa corpus*, as in the warrants; 3dly, that from the anxiety shewn by Edward the First, when on his death-bed, to have his body carried about with the army, it is probable that some more than ordinary endeavours were from time to time used; and that the tomb was frequently opened, in order to examine what renewals of those endeavours were necessary for the continual preservation of the royal corpse. Allowing this to have been the case, not only the renewals of the *cera*, and the peculiarity of the honor which, as we find from those warrants, was shewn to Edward the First, and to no other of our monarchs; but the reasons for the remarkable plainness of his tomb, the chasms made in its sides and end-slabs; and for its covering-stone, as well as the lid of his coffin being kept uncemented, are easily explained and accounted for.

SOME difficulties, however, occur to our admitting, at least in the present case, that the word *cera* signifies a *cerecloth*, or that the expression, *ceram existentem circa corpus*, in the before-mentioned warrants is to be interpreted the *cerecloth* adhering to, or inclosing, the body. *Ceratum* and *cerotum* are the only words used by Pliny and other classical writers to denote a *cerecloth*. And Carpentier, in distinguishing the meaning of the word *cereus* from that of *ceratus*, says, *cereus* is that which is made entirely of wax, *ceratus* that which is either daubed over

^y Ovid.

^a Juvenal.

^a Suet. J. Caes. c. 83.

or encrustated with wax; of both which he produces several instances. Agreeable to this definition, the before-mentioned regulations *De exequiis regalibus*, after telling us that the royal body is to be first washed, and then anointed with balsam and spices, adds, *postea in panno lineo cerato involvitur*, and not *in cera involvitur*, as they would have expressed it had the word *cera* been then known, or used to signify a *cerecloth*. Many other instances might be produced, wherein *cerecloth* is in the barbarous latinity called, *pannus lineus ceratus*; but I cannot recollect one to the contrary. Farther: should the words, *ceram existentem circa corpus* be translated the *cerecloth which is round the body*, or the *cerecloth adhering to*, or *inclosing the body*, such translation would be introductive of a palpable absurdity, because, in that case, the carrying into execution the directions of the warrants must inevitably have defeated that which, according to the sentiments of the advocates for such an interpretation, was the main purpose proposed to be effected by renewing the *cerecloth*, to wit, the preservation of king Edward's corpse, and the having it ready to be carried about with the army, and exhibited to public view, whenever occasion should make it necessary so to do: for, if the old *cerecloth* was taken off from the body, and a new one was put on, and fitted thereto, every time obedience was paid to the warrants, *De cera renovanda*, the royal body, by reason of the strong and close adhesion of the *cerecloth* to it, must have received considerable injury from the operation; it being impossible to take off such *cerecloth* without in some degree lacerating the flesh; a circumstance which, after a few repetitions, must have almost totally destroyed the corpse. On the other hand, had the old *cerecloth* been suffered to remain on the body, and new ones from time to time been superinduced, they would soon have formed such a thickness of envelope, as must have prevented all distinction of the several parts. That neither of these

was

was the case is however evident; for the royal body remains almost quite perfect and entire; hath not the least appearance of having suffered violence, or sustained any external injury whatsoever, except such as proceeds from a gradual decay; and is inclosed in only one, and that a very fine, *cerecloth*, as hath been already mentioned.

A SUGGESTION, consistent with the idea of *cerecloth* being meant by the word *cera* in the several warrants, may possibly be offered; to wit, that the *cerecloth*, directed to be renewed, was not that which was next unto, and in immediate contact with, the body, but the outermost wrapper, or coverlid, wherein the corpse, with all its vestments and regalia, was found inclosed, and which appears, not only to have been strongly waxed on its under side, but still retains, though faintly, an aromatic smell. To such suggestion it may very properly be objected, that, however plentifully the wrapper may have been medicated, and however copiously it may have been spread over, or incrustated with wax, yet that all its antiseptic powers could have but little, if any, effect towards preventing the body from decay, because it is placed at such a distance from it, and folded in so loose a manner over it, as to leave considerable room for the free admission of air.

UNDER these incertainties, with the greatest deference to the judgement of others, and without wishing to obtrude an opinion, I presume to offer a suggestion, that the *cera* which the warrants direct to be renewed was no other than wax-lights, or lamps, kept burning about the royal sepulchre; and that a quantity sufficient for such purposes was in all probability annually delivered to the sacrist of the abbey-church on or about the anniversary of the king's *obit*.

EDWARD the First was not only beloved by his subjects, but held in the highest veneration by the ecclesiasticks and religious

gious of all orders, and more particularly so by the abbot and Monks of Westminster, to whom he had been a very considerable benefactor. In the year 1274 a fire, which broke out in the royal palace, communicated its flames to the neighbouring abbey of Westminster; whereby all the lead-work and timbers of the roof were consumed. This damage he forthwith repaired at his own expence, and likewise restored the structure to its former splendor. A short time after, he granted to the abbot and convent lands to the value of two hundred pounds a year, a large sum in those days, twenty pounds whereof he directed to be distributed yearly to the poor*.

It is well known, that in those times tapers and lamps were usually kept burning, not only at the tombs of great personages, but also at those of people of inferior rank. May it not then reasonably be supposed, that either the abbot and convent, to whom Edward the First had been thus munificent, or his son and successor Edward the Second, might have ordained, that the like religious attention should be paid to the remains of so meritorious a prince; and consequently, that masses were daily said at his tomb, and lights continually kept burning there, in order to invite the faithful to pray for the repose of his soul. It must, indeed, be confessed, that neither our records nor historians mention such observance. But their silence in that respect will not appear extraordinary, when it is considered, that such trifling circumstances as masses and tomb-lights did not properly fall within the plan of the latter, and that great numbers of the former have long since been destroyed. Had not the famous "Liber Consuetudinum" of St. Peter's at Westminster been unfortunately burnt in that fire, which consumed many other inestimable manuscripts in the Cottonian library, that book would, in all probability, have assured us of the fact.

* Hollinshed's Chron. p. 213.

but This Latin word *cereus*, properly speaking being that which consists entirely of *cera*, or wax; the large tapers placed about tombs and at the altars of saints, are in ancient writings generally called *cerei*; and yet they, as likewise the lamps which were kept burning in those places, are not unfrequently expressed by the word *cera*, sometimes with, and sometimes without, an adjunct. Thus in the accounts, given us by ecclesiastical writers, of the rites and ceremonies used in the Romish church, we meet with *cereus paschalis*—*cereus de pascha*—*cereus de S. resurrectione*—and *cereus de pentecoste*—as also to express the very same things, *cera paschalis*, and *cera ad pascham*—*cera de S. resurrectione*—and *cera de pentecoste*.

UNAM medullam Claromontensem debent de cera paschali^b.

CERA paschalis ad faciendum cereum de pascha^c.

CERAM de S. Resurrectione afferunt^d.

CERA de Pentecoste a sacerdotibus episcopis persolvenda^e.

HENCE then it is evident, that *cereus paschalis*, *cera paschalis*, *cera ad pascham*, *cereus de S. resurrectione*, and *cera de S. resurrectione*, equally signify those tapers, which, being blessed on Holy Saturday or Easter eve, were lighted every day whilst the Gospel was reading, until Holy Thursday; after which, the Gospel being read, they were extinguished, and used no more until the blessing of the baptismal font, or Whitson eve, when they were again lighted, but on that occasion only; after which, they were made into small candles, for the common use of the altar, and for burning at the funerals of the poor. In like manner, by *cereus*

^b Tabularium Celsiniacense, a Girardo Constante, cited by Carpentier.

^c Monast. Angl. tom. II. p. 40.

^d Vita S. Gervini, inter acta Benedictinorum. saec. 6. pars II. p. 321.

^e Tab. S^a Autberti, cited by Carpentier.

^f Constitutiones W. de Bleys, in Wilkins's Councils, vol. I. p. 624. Carpentier's Supplement, art. *Cera Paschalis*.

de pentecoste, and *cera de pentecoste*, we understand those lights or tapers which parish priests used to bring, among other obventions, to their diocesans on Whitsun eve.

DONATIONS of *cera* for the service of the church continually occur in ancient deeds, testaments, and church registers; all of which either absolutely express, or plainly imply, that such *cera* was for tapers, candles, or lights. "*Lego, v libras cere in duobus cereis conficiendis—xxv lib. cere de quibus fiant quinque cerei—lego in cera pro lumine—xx solidos ad inveniendum luminare—in cera pro lumine—in cera emenda ad comburendum—dedi unam petram cere—dedit in cera,*" &c. are the usual various expressions in the above-mentioned muniments: and therefore father Mabillon, Spelman, Du Fresne, Carpentier, and other lexicographers, do not hesitate at considering *cereus paschalis* and *cera paschalis* as synonymous. Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, who died anno 1193, by one of his ordinances directs that the sacrist of that monastery shall yearly provide an albe, to be worn by the abbot "*ad benedictionem cere in vigilia paschae &c.*" And one of the articles of expenditure at the funeral of Adam de Boothbie, another of the abbots of Peterborough, runs thus: "*In cera ccl lib.*" By the first of these expressions we can only understand the blessing of the wax (for making tapers) on Easter eve; and by the latter, that 250 pounds weight of wax-lights were used at the interment. Amongst the payments to be made by the vicar of Glynde, in Suffex, is Eccles, Malling, *pro cera xii d.* and amongst those to be made by the rector of St. Thomas at Cliffe, in the same county, is Eccles, Malling, *pro cera xii d.*

"ANSELINUS DE FURNES dedit unam petram cere annuatim in purificatione sanctae Mariae virginis in puram et perpetuam

^a Gunton's History of Peterborough, in the Life of Abbot Benedict.

^b *Ibid.* in the Life of Adam de Boothbie.

^c Eton's Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum, p. 87.

"elemosinam.—Adam de Asmunderflawe et Giraldus frater
"suus dederunt duas petras cereæ^k," &c.

If what hath been already offered doth not sufficiently evince, that *cera existens circa corpus* can mean nothing else but one or more *cerei* or lights to be burnt, either occasionally, periodically, or constantly, before the shrine or image of a saint, or round the tomb of some great personage, for obtaining the prayers of the faithful for the repose of the soul of the person there buried, the following instances will go a great way towards proving the assertion; and shew, that such mode of expression is not to be understood as signifying or alluding to the *cerecloth* in which the interred body is wrapped.

— "ITEM lego in cera pro lumine circa corpus meum *ri lib.*
"et dimid.^l."

— "LEGO *xx sol.* ad inveniendum luminare circa corpus meum
"die sepulture mee^m."

— "LEGO *v lib.* cere in duobus cereis conficiendis ad arden-
"dum circa corpus meumⁿ."

— "LEGO *xxv libras* cere, de quibus fiant quinque cerei ad
"comburendum circa corpus meum^o."

HENRY IV. gave lands to the keeper of the lamps about the tomb of the duke and duchess of Lancaster in the church of St. Paul, London, for eight tapers to burn about that tomb, and to provide wax^p.

"DEUX torches a l'un couste, et deux a l'autre, et nul autre
"lumiere entour moi^q."

^k West's Antiquities of the Abbey of St. Mary at Furness, App. N^o XL.

^l Register of the town of Kingston upon-Hull, temp. Edward III.

^m *Ibid.*

ⁿ Test. of Sir John Delves, knt. in Register Wytlesey, in Lambeth library.

^o Test. of Sir William Morley, knt. Register Sudbury, p. 101. b. *ibid.*

^p Pat. 10 Hen. IV. p. 1. m. 7. Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 37.

^q Test. D. Barth. de Burwarke, mil. in Regist. Wytlesey, in Lambeth library, f. 98.

- “PAR lumiere entour mon corps¹.”
- “CIRCA corpus meum quinque cereos².”
- “CINQUE serges oue les morters en maniere come fust entour le
“corps ma compagne³.”
- “CIRCA corpus nostrum in ipsis exequiis quinque cerea, five
“luminaria cerea⁴.”
- “QUATUOR magnos cereos de officio sacriste circa corpus posu-
“erunt ardentes⁵.”
- “BARRARII circa corpus meum die sepulture mee⁶.”
- “LEGAVIT ad luminaria circa corpus ejus⁷.”
- “ITEM do lego in cera emend. ad comburend. circa corpus
“meum die sepulture mee XIII s. IIII d.⁸.”
- “ITEM in cera pro lumine circa corpus meum 4 s. anno
1338⁹.”
- “ITEM do lego pro cera emenda ad comburendum circa
“corpus meum die sepulture mee xxx s. anno 1337¹⁰.”
- “ET in XII lib. cere emende ad comburend. circa corpus
“meum die sepulture mee VII s. anno 1339.”
- “DEBET (thesaurarius) invenire duos cereos in obitu episco-
“porum, quorum corpora tumulantur infra ecclesiam, ante tu-
“mulum ipsorum qui debent ardere durante officio mortuorum
“in anniversario die ipsorum¹¹.”

¹ Test. Roberti comitis Suffolk, *ibid.* f. 111. b.

² Test. W. Pauli, clerici, *ibid.* f. 120. b.

³ Test. Richardi comitis Arundel, in Regist. Sudbury, f. 97, Lambeth library.

⁴ Test. Edwardi III. regis Angl. *ibid.* f. 97, b.

⁵ De Exequiis et Sepultura Ymeris abbatis B. Marie Hellumi in urbe Rotho-
mago, an. 1304. M. S. in bib. Cotton Domitian. A. IX. 15.

⁶ Test. J. de Nevil, dom. de Raby. Madox Form. Angl. p. 129.

⁷ Test. W. de Laveli. *Ibid.*

⁸ Register-book of the town of Kingston upon Hull, f. 85.

⁹ *Ibid.* f. 87.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* f. 96.

¹¹ *Ibid.* f. 98.

¹² Consuetudines ecclesiae Herefordensis, MS. p. 21.

— “ET II tapers chacun de v l. l'un a ma teste et l'autre a
“mes pes.”

THE *teste* which the several before-mentioned warrants respectively bear, when considered with some other circumstances, may perhaps not only further elucidate, but in a great measure confirm, what hath been here advanced in regard to the purport and real intent of those royal mandates, as also to the true meaning of the word *cera* as used in them.

ALL the warrants, *De cera renovanda circa corpus R. Edwardi*, hitherto discovered, two only excepted, are dated between the eighth day of June and the twelfth day of July inclusive; and of these there are no more than three whose *teste* is subsequent to the *seventh* day of that month. And it is observeable, that king Edward the First died on the *seventh of July*, which consequently must have been the regular and fixed day for keeping his *obit*.

THE before-mentioned warrants evidently appear to have been annual, and issued, not in consequence of yearly petitions of the abbot and convent of Westminster to the king, but officially and of course, by the proper officers of the crown, and at a certain stated period, pursuant to some standing or dormant order. Similar to this, the tender of tapers, torches, or *wax*, granted or bequeathed to be kept constantly burning round tombs, or to be lighted up either at the time of masses directed to be said daily for the repose of the soul of the person there interred, or at the performance of the anniversary office in his or her commemoration, was always made upon, or a short time previous to, the obitual-day of such defunct in every year. In like manner also, lights given to churches, for the purpose of being kept burning at the altars, or before the images of saints, were constantly delivered to

* Test. de Margaret de Courtenay countesse de Devonshire, in Book Rous, MS. in the College of Arms.

the

the sacrist upon or about the anniversary of such saint, and not on a day distant therefrom.

THE *teste* of the before-mentioned warrants therefore being in every year nearly coincident with the anniversary of Edward the First's obitual day, and the issue of the *cera* being made annually in like manner as wax, and lights appropriated for burning round tombs and altars, and before the images of saints, were usually rendered; such facts may, without any impropriety, be considered as still farther and very cogent arguments for enforcing an opinion, that the *cera*, annually renewed in consequence of those warrants, was really and truly *wax*, issued once in every year to the sacrist of the church of Westminster, for making tapers and other lights, to be burnt at or round the tomb of Edward the First, and not a *cerecloth*, or any antiseptic preparation applied to the royal corpse.

BEFORE this subject is finally dismissed, it will be necessary to consider the suggestion, that, had not the *cerecloth* round the royal body been annually renewed, that body would have been in danger of putrefaction from the effect of the heats in the summer months. Now, had this actually been the case, the antiseptic preparations must necessarily have been annually renewed long before the months of June or July, because the royal corpse, by means of the warm weather, which not uncommonly happens at the latter end of April, and in the month of May, would have been so far advanced towards putrefaction, that any subsequent application, even of the strongest antiseptics, could not have retarded, much less would they have prevented, its decay: and consequently the idea of the corpse being likely to putrify, unless it was annually embalmed *de novo*, would have suggested the necessity of renewing the antiseptics earlier in the year, and just before the approach of the spring, in order to obviate the impending

The improbability of such an apprehension, as that the body would putrify, unless the antiseptics were annually renewed, having been entertained during the period in which we find that the royal warrants, *De renovanda cera*, were issued, is evident, not only from the total silence of all historians as to any renewal of antiseptics having been practised in those countries where the bodies of the dead were usually embalmed, but from the state of preservation in which the corpse of king Edward the First remains at present; for, had not the corpse many years before the time in which the issue of the warrants *De cera renovanda*, was discontinued, been brought to the state of dryness and solidity in which it still appears to be, it must long since have putrified or fallen into dust.

I HAVE already mentioned, that, previous to the removal of the top stone of king Edward's tomb, the dean of Westminster, who was present from the opening to the shutting it up, had taken every possible precaution that no damage might be done either to the royal body, or its sarcophagus. The like vigilance was observed by him during the time the coffin continued open: so that the corpse did not receive the least violation or injury; neither was it despoiled of any of its vestments, regalia, or ornaments. On the contrary, all things were suffered to remain in the same condition, situation, and place, wherein they were found. After the spectators had taken a sufficient view, the top of the coffin, and the covering-stone of the tomb, were restored to their proper places, and fastened down by a strong cement of strice before the dean retired from the chapel.